

# THE ABOLITIONIST.

VOL. I.]

JUNE, 1833.

[NO. VI.]

## THE LATE JOHN KENRICK, ESQ.

Our last number mentioned the death of JOHN KENRICK, Esq. of Newton, President of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society. We are happy to have it in our power to lay before our readers some few particulars respecting the life of this venerable philanthropist.

He was born at Newton, Massachusetts, Nov. 6, 1755, and consequently, at the time of his death was in his seventy-ninth year.

'He was,' in the words of one who was well acquainted with him, 'characterised through life, by industry, economy, punctuality, and integrity.' By the exercise of these virtues, he acquired a handsome property, which he employed liberally in promoting benevolent objects.

Some years ago, he established a fund for assisting and relieving the unfortunate and industrious poor of Newton. The trustees of this fund, at present, distribute \$60 a year, from the income of the fund; and after 1850, will be able to distribute \$200 a year.

He had for many years before his death taken a deep interest in the abolition of slavery, and published a considerable number of articles on the subject, in the newspapers at different times. He was an ardent friend of the Republic of Hayti, and published several pieces in relation to it.

In the year 1816, he published a small volume compiled by himself, entitled the 'Horrors of Slavery.' This work is in two parts, the first chiefly composed of extracts from the speeches of British statesmen; the second, chiefly of extracts from American writers. It contains also an introduction and concluding remarks by the compiler. He printed 3,000 copies of the work at his own expense, which he distributed chiefly among the members of Congress, and of the State Legislatures, and other persons in the Northern and Western States.

Mr. Kenrick sent a copy of this work to Boyer, the President of the Haytian Republic. The following is a translation of a letter from President Boyer acknowledging the receipt of the volume.

## 'REPUBLIC OF HAYTI.

*Jean Pierre Boyer, President of Hayti.*

Port-au-Prince, June 9, 1818, }  
the 15th year of Independence. }

SIR,—I have received the work which you were kind enough to send me, entitled the *Horrors of Slavery*, and am duly sensible of your civility in presenting it to me. I have read the volume with the liveliest interest, and cannot but applaud the motives which induced you to prepare it. I fondly cherish the idea that the exertions of philanthropists, among whom you are so honorably distinguished, will ere long be crowned with the most brilliant success, and that humanity will no longer groan under the barbarous laws which still support in some countries the atrocious system of slavery. It will be your glory and consolation, Sir, and that of those who, like you, consecrate their talents and leisure, in pleading at the tribunal of reason the sacred cause of the oppressed, to see the victims of a detestable avarice, one day restored to the dignity of men, and enjoying their right of returned unceasing thanks to Heaven, in gratitude for what they owe you.

Continue, Sir, to execute the honorable design you have engaged in. Your philanthropic devotedness, your ardent zeal to promote the cause of justice and public morals, will make you deserving of the esteem and veneration of your cotemporaries and posterity. For myself, I feel a real satisfaction in offering you the expression of these sentiments, and in assuring you that I will do every thing in my power to co-operate with you in the holy work of regenerating those of our brethren who have been robbed of their liberty.

I have the honor to salute you, &c. &c.

BOYER.

Mr. Kenrick took a deep interest in the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, and was from its commencement one of its most liberal patrons and useful friends. He gave several sums to the society, at different times, amounting in the whole to six hundred dollars, besides one hundred dollars specially devoted to the Manual Labor School. He was chosen President of the Society at its last annual meeting, and continued to hold the office at the time of his death.

His character was held in high and deserved estimation among his neighbors. He served in all the first military and civil offices in Newton, his native place, was for many years a magistrate, and from his 70th year, represented the town for seven years successively, in the General Court of Massachusetts.

In regard to religion, we again adopt the language of a friend, 'he believed it to consist in "*imitating the God who is worshipped*"—in doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly, in obedience to the commands of God—in visiting the fatherless and widows in their affliction—in avoiding the spots, the vices, and the vain customs of the world—in undoing heavy burdens, and letting the oppressed go free.'

'He had a powerful mind in a powerful body. He was distinguished for energy, decision, independence and enterprise. His talents for business, whether public or private, were of the highest order. The most prominent feature of his intellectual character, appears to have been, strong, thorough, practical good sense. His stature, his size, his features, his powerful voice, and his commanding address, all betokened extraordinary physical and intellectual force.'

### A ROMAN DEATH.

*Hypocrisy is the homage which vice pays to virtue.*  
ROCHEFOUCAULD.

The following story is copied from the Richmond Compiler:

A servant of a very respectable gentleman of this city had obtained forged papers for himself, wife and her mother, and took his passage on Sunday morning in the Patrick Henry, for Norfolk, intending to go on to New-York. In the course of the forenoon he was detected by Capt. Chapman; and on meeting with the Potomac on her way up to Richmond, Capt. Chapman put the whole party on board the Potomac, to be returned to their masters. The servant was very much depressed in the course of the day, and stated that he had no cause of complaint against his master, of whom he spoke in affectionate terms; but that he never could return to him after making an attempt to escape. The Potomac was late in getting up, and within a very short distance of Rocketts, about half past 11 o'clock. (on Sunday night,) the servant stepped over the side of the steamboat, before the wheel, very close to some of the passengers, who did not suspect his purpose. Wood was immediately thrown out to him, and the boat lowered—but in vain. The wretched victim of his own passions had disappeared and sunk.

The act of this poor slave in putting an end to his life, was certainly criminal when examined by the light of Christianity. But had it been done among the Romans, it would have been celebrated as a deed of heroic virtue. Poets and orators would have recorded the

name of the man who preferred death to slavery, among those of their Brutuses and Catos. Yet the Richmond Compiler sees in the author of this rash act nothing but the '*victim of his own passions*.' He might have seen, if he had reflected, the victim of a cruel system of oppression. We wonder he had not reproached the poor slave for his fraudulent conduct in killing himself, and thus cheating his owner out of his value.

There are several particulars deserving notice in the paragraph we have just copied. They serve to show that even slave states are ashamed of slavery. In the first place, neither the name of the slave nor of his master are given. Whence does this studied concealment arise, except from a consciousness that there was something wrong in a system which leads to such awful catastrophes?

Suppose an apprentice of a mechanic had hung himself in a northern city, how differently would the story have been told. 'We understand that James Tompkins, an apprentice of John Smith, a carpenter, who boarded with Mrs Adams at 99 Wendell-street, hung himself last night in his chamber,' &c.

Again. The Compiler thinks it necessary to apologise for the owner of the slave, by calling him a 'very respectable gentleman,' and saying that the slave 'stated he had no cause of complaint against his master, of whom he spoke in affectionate terms.'

In the next place, the Compiler is so delicate that he cannot use the word slave, but very affectedly always calls him a *servant*. The Virginians, it seems, are so much ashamed of slavery, that they think it necessary to use some less offensive term in its place. We rejoice to see this affectation. We hope it may prove a symptom of returning virtue, and we trust as they are now ashamed of the name of slaves, they may soon become more ashamed of the reality.

### LETTER TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

The following letter from Captain Charles Stuart to the Archbishop of Canterbury, will, we think, be read with interest by all who acknowledge the rights of slaves to freedom. Though written principally in reference to the course pursued by the Society for Propagating the Gospel, it applies with great force to slaveholders in the United States.



LETTER.

MY LORD:—

Will you permit an humble member of the Church of Christ, to address you with affectionate boldness, on a subject near his heart?

That subject is, Negro Slavery!

Not long ago, I heard with grief the proclamation read, which recommended the Society for Propagating the Gospel, to public aid. I heard it with grief, because that Society is a Slaveholder; and because the direct occasion, had reference to its Slave estate. Turn not now away, I beseech you; for, my Lord, 'It is an easy thing to wear a mitre and a cross; but an awful thing to give account of a bishopric, before the Judge of quick 'and dead'; and I find that I cannot be at rest without thus addressing you, while I read the solemn words of God, in Lev. xix. 17—and again in James ii. 10.

The Society has had the said estate with Slaves, for upwards of 100 years. God, no doubt put it into their power, that they might obey Him, and let the 'oppressed go free.'—Col. Codrington put it into their power, that they might educate a certain number of white youths, and give religious instruction to the blacks. I need not tell your Lordship, how poorly both of these objects have been answered; neither need I affirm *which* the Society ought to have obeyed.

But what has the Society been doing since 1710, when the bequest was made them?

It has been preparing to obey God, as soon as might be prudent or convenient, by first preparing the Negroes for liberty.

Here are my poor, said God, they have been oppressed—I put them into your hands. 'Let them go, that they may serve me.'

We will, replied the Society, as soon as we have fitted them for it.

So, thirty years rolled away, a generation passed into eternity, and the next generation was still enslaved, and still not fitted.

'Let my people go,' said God, in 1740, 'that they may serve me.'

They are not ready yet, replied the Society.

A third generation rose in 1770, and again God said—'Let my people go, that they may serve me.'

We are getting them ready, replied the Society, as fast as we can. Do pray give us two generations more, for to tell you the truth, we want them to serve ourselves a little longer, and to make money for us, that we may build a college, and educate the white youths; and besides it would be running so sadly counter, to the generous and cultivated Barbarians!

Another generation passed into eternity unredressed; and then another; and still the Society, instead of obeying, is only *preparing* to obey.

My Lord, what brought down upon Algiers the British thunder, but a similar procedure?

What but a similar procedure, my Lord, awakened the midnight echoes of Egypt, with the howl of the slaughter of the first born?

My Lord, who is it that keeps in His bottle, the tears of the afflicted; or whose ear is it, that is ever open to the cry of the poor, and who forgets not their blood?

Doth not *He* speak truly, who says, 1 Sam. xv. 22—'Behold, to obey, is better than sacrifice, and to hearken, than the fat of rams,' &c.

Now, my Lord, the question which I wish to place before you with affectionate boldness, is:—

What is the *real* character of measures, which consist in '*preparing*' to let the oppressed go free,' instead of letting them go; especially when the experience of 120 years calls out shame upon the futility of such preparations; for your Lordship no doubt is aware, that the great body of Slaves on the estate in question, are still living in open fornication and adultery?

What, then, is the *real* character of such measures?

Clearly, it is not obeying the letter of God's Word.

But does the spirit differ from the letter?

Your Lordship knows that the *spirit* is *always* to be collected from the letter, *except* where doing so would involve a *palpable* absurdity.

Now, would *abiding by the letter*, in the case before us, involve a palpable absurdity?—Would it be palpably absurd to believe, that infinite wisdom and goodness, commands the oppressed to be immediately delivered? Or *must* we conclude, that infinite love, knowing perfectly how very little men can be safely trusted with despotic power, still wills that the oppressed should remain in the hands of their oppressors, until their oppressors at the close of many generations, shall at length perhaps think them fit for liberty!

Let us look at the divine procedure, as recorded in the Bible.

Three thousand years ago, the Jews were in bondage in Egypt.

Did God sanction Pharaoh's keeping them in bondage, until the Egyptian task masters had prepared them for liberty? No!—He commanded Pharaoh to let His people go.

But perhaps they were prepared for liberty!

Their bones scattered in the wilderness, where they sinned, and the golden calf, molten and graven at the very foot of the Mount, fearfully reply that they were not.

Chushan Rishathaim, the Mesopotamian, in the 15th Century before Christ, reduced them to slavery for their crimes.—Judges iii. 7, 8. Did God permit him to keep them in bondage, till he had prepared them for liberty? No! God raised up Othniel, and delivered them, though *He knew* that they could soon again reduce themselves by their crimes, to bondage.

Eglon, the King of Moab, not long after, became their master, and his history supplies a similar evidence: God delivered them from slavery, most unfit as they proved themselves for freedom.

We have similar evidence, in Judges iv. 6, 8.—x. 11, &c.

But perhaps when long afterwards the Jews were delivered from the Babylonish Church, they had learnt not to abuse their freedom?

Who, then, crucified the Lord of Glory!

I venture to affirm, my Lord, without reserve, that we have no instance in the Bible, in which God sanctions one man, in keeping another man, without a crime, in bondage, in order to prepare him for liberty. The process is totally unscriptural. But is it not also as unphilosophical and irrational, as it is unscriptural?

Two things would be clearly indispensable, in or to sanction it.

I. *A right to do so, and*

II. *Right Agents—a sufficient number of them—and a sufficient continuance, before-hand secured.*

1. This of course must be a *right Right*; not merely a legal one, for legality may equally sanction Cannibalism, Suttees, or Negro Slavery. But legality cannot alter the nature of things, much less make *that* right amongst *Christians*, which is criminal even among heathens.

But there is no such right in the case before us. In the nature of God's holy Providence, it is unalterably a crime, for any power to subject any man to bondage, or to keep him in bondage, except as a righteous punishment for his own crimes; and until the Negroes be fairly tried and found guilty of some crime, which would warrant such a dreadful penalty, there can be no *right Right* to keep them in bondage, even for a moment. God has already announced the judgment of those who do evil, that good may come. Romans, iii. 8.

2. These are of two classes. The authorities employing, and the agents employed.

The authorities ought to be perfectly wise, disinterested and benevolent—they ought to be on the spot, superintending in person—they ought to be secure from the demoralizing influences of despotic power—and they ought to be able to secure the uninterrupted continuance of the process until perfected.

But where can such authorities be found?

The agents ought to be equally wise, disinterested, and benevolent—they ought to be secure from the same dangers—they ought to be incapable of discouragement or fatigue, and they ought to have a certainty of success.

Where shall we get such agents? or, how shall we secure them life? or if they die prematurely, how shall we get successors worthy of them? or, if we cannot, how shall we ensure success? or, if we cannot ensure success,

how shall we exculpate ourselves, for having kept our guiltless brother in bondage, merely because we feared that if we obeyed God, and let him go free, he might have abused his liberty? Or which side of the dilemma should we choose? 1st.—To keep our guiltless brother, with his innocent progeny, another generation or two in bondage, because we and our agents have proved too wicked to prepare them according to our views for liberty at an earlier period; and because, &c. Or, 2d.—To abandon at length our rebellious wisdom, satisfied with the tale of their wrongs carried against us to the ears of Jehovah, by the four generations who have perished beneath our oppression, and at length to learn, that obedience is the only true wisdom.

But the Society for Propagating the Gospel, might be more safely trusted than the Egyptians?

The history of Egypt and of Barbadoes will not bear out the boast.

But perhaps there is something in the Society for Propagating the Gospel, which makes it an exception to all general rules?

Where is it?

Can we find it in any peculiar blessings conferred on the Negroes by their Government?

So far from it, they have been surrounded, with the safety and benefits of immediate emancipation, under circumstances vastly less favorable than theirs,\* and still their Slaves are *Slaves* untutored, adulterous Slaves, as unfit for immediate liberty as ever!

Can we find it in any peculiar or unnatural difficulties with which the Society has had to contend?

Not at all. But on the contrary, it has been singularly and largely aided by the collections repeatedly sanctioned for it by the highest authorities, and it has received and acknowledged the most solemn and affectionate warnings.

And now, amidst all these facts, what is the spectacle which it is exhibiting?

Why, that after a set of the most honorable and accomplished men in the world, many of them dignitaries and ministers of a Christian Church, with every means which wealth, and influence, and learning, and power could give them, during a course of 120 years, in order to prepare their poor unoffending Negro fellow subjects for liberty, have professedly done all they could do for that purpose, the same need of preparation as formerly is still insisted upon, for continuing to keep them in bondage!

In short, my Lord, I look in vain for a ground

\* See Gayenne from 1794 till 1802. Hayti from 1794 until the present day. Trinidad. The Nottinghams of Tortola. Sierra Leone. The re-captured Africans in the West. The Hottentots at the Cape of Good Hope. Bolivar's 800 Slaves in Columbia. The Crown Slaves lately freed, and the Runaways of Martinique, in St. Lucia.



on which to support the untenable position, that the right way, in which to prepare a poor ignorant man for liberty, is to keep him a Slave; especially when his preparation is conducted in a land of slavery, and entrusted to distant stipendiaries.

No, my Lord; the position is not under the ban of the Divine Law. The Scriptures altogether repudiate it.—The whole character of God is hostile to it.—The name of Christ bleeds under it.—The Gospel is dishonored by it.—It degrades the character, and endangers the safety of our country. The poor Negro is dying unredressed at its horrible mandate, and our own souls wither while we hug the idol of our iniquity, and go on demurely *preparing* for obedience, instead of obeying; although the clamorous and indignant tongue of a hundred years, is proclaiming in facts which we do not even pretend to deny, the criminal and ruinous absurdity of our procedure.

My Lord, your predecessors had the opportunity—their account is with God; and they are gone to render it in that judgment, where the Negro will be upon an equality with them. I would not be in their place to meet the poor Negroes' charge.

My Lord, you have the opportunity *now*.—But you too are rapidly passing away, and soon your place will know you no more.

My Lord, have you done all in your power to obey God, in this particular, instead of *preparing* to obey Him!! Have you done all you could, immediately to restore to your Negro fellow subject, his forfeited rights; to right the actual sufferers—the present generation; instead of consigning them to death or slavery, and contriving how their progeny perhaps may hereafter be made free? Have you, my Lord, done all you could to absolve your own soul from being found *to-morrow*, amongst those who have wronged, or concurred in wronging the poor, because they are poor?—And permit me, I pray, in thus earnestly urging these solemn questions, to notice, that the man who has any agency in Negro Slavery, is not only directly responsible for the few, who might be more immediately dependant upon his power, but is largely chargeable with the whole crime, beneath which hundreds of thousands are cruelly and iniquitously bound down!

Here I refrain. Should the question arise, but what can we do? The answer, though comprehensive, is easy. I will not intrude it. It is at your Lordship's command through a thousand channels; through me, for one, should you be pleased to call upon me to lay it before you, whether personally or in writing. Meanwhile, commending your Grace to the blessing of Him who gave Himself alike for black and white; who has declared Himself the friend of the poor, and the avenger of the oppressed; whose name is Love, and who is not willing

that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance, I am, my Lord,

Respectfully and affectionately,

Your Grace's obedient servant,

C. STUART.

LONDON, Jan. 2, 1831.

#### THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The following article is a reply to a defence of the Colonization Society in the Christian Examiner. It was intended for publication in that work, but the editors declining to admit it, we very readily give it a place in our pages.

We, the writer of an article on this subject in the 53d number of the Christian Examiner, find ourself called upon to notice a paper in reply. We would have desired no stronger confirmation of our own views than this paper, and had we alone been concerned, we should have suffered it to remain unanswered. Any man who will read the two articles, with a sole view to a correct result, will see, that whatever the arguments in the first may be, the last has not met, much less answered them. The mass of readers, however, will not so examine. The current of popular feeling, we should rather say prejudice, sets strongly against our views, and in favor of those of our opponent. He has joined the ranks of a powerful and wealthy combination, whose motives and operations many think it little less than treason to examine. We take the field single handed, without backers and with no other advantages than strict truth and a righteous cause. Our opponent may shelter himself behind the names and example of presidents and governors. We, nevertheless, venture to attack his opinions and theirs; being fully persuaded that it is possible for great, good and wise men to be sometimes in the wrong. It will not, we think, be hard to prove the fallacy of our writer's views, nor will the task require many pages.

*‘Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just.’*

We shall confine ourselves, strictly, to our text. In the outset the writer says, that no charitable institution has ever found more opposition than the American Colonization Society. We think he errs. We never heard that the Society had met with any organized opposition, till within the last year, and that opposition has been conducted by those whom one of its accredited agents, has scornfully designated as ‘a hatter and a few hot-headed young men.’ It is certainly not for an avowed advocate of the Society to complain of such opposition. If the Society has met with any other obstruction, we can truly say that we know not of it. We thought that it had ever been warmed by the noontide glare of popular favor.

The writer says that our views are those of a class called Abolitionists, who are pecu-

liarily intolerant and who habitually designate the Colonization Society as a set of 'men stealers.' He says that we sometimes hint at the *expulsion* of the colored population, and, very courteously, excuses us 'on the score of old habit and bad company.' We answer that if any class call the Colonization Society, men stealers, we have not done so. We never countenanced such perversion of the English language, and, in this matter, he has travelled out of his way to attack us. We say, too, that we keep no worse company than his own; for we have been long on terms of familiar intimacy with him, and knowing and respecting him as we do, we are surely qualified to judge in this particular.

The writer proceeds to complain that the views of ignorant, ardent friends of the scheme of African Colonization have been mistaken for those of the Society itself. What he believes to be the real and sole object of the institution may be found, he says, in its constitution, viz. 'the removal of such of our free blacks as are desirous to leave this country for a foreign one.' The society, has never, as he thinks, 'undertaken to drain this country of the slaves or of the free blacks, to suppress the slave trade, or to civilize the African continent.' That is, the literal words of the constitution ought to be sufficient for us, and we are not to gather the views of the Society from their acts; their official organs, the speech and writ of their agents, or the expressions of their most influential members. Let us apply this logic in another connexion.

The leading men of South Carolina, have ever declared their attachment to the constitution, and their love of peace and union. They have never said that they would commit treason. Above all, the constitution of the State says nothing about nullification. Therefore, to follow the argument of our friend to its end, the South Carolinians, have not assumed an attitude of defiance, it is no proof of hostile intentions on their part, that they have organized their whole physical force. The constitution indicates no such design, and consequently, what they do is laudable.

We suppose Henry Clay and Charles Fenton Mercer, are not among the ardent and ignorant members of the Colonization Society; yet they do not confine their views to the removal of such free blacks as are willing to emigrate. We are straightened for room, or we would give their very words in proof of what we say. We presume that those members whose speeches are published in connection with the annual reports, do not misapprehend the objects of the institution. Surely, if they did, the managers would not sanction their speeches with their approbation. Nine out of ten of these orators, avow that they aim at the removal of all our colored people, bond and free, that they contemplate the abolition of the slave trade, and in short, that they

hold all the opinions we have attributed to the society. It is said, that in all free institutions, the opinion of the majority must rule. Any one who will take the pains to read the Annual Reports and the African Repository, cannot fail to be convinced that the views above mentioned, are those of the very great majority, who have therein expressed their opinions. The tenor of the Reports and of the editorial matter in the Repository, is alone, sufficient proof, that the simple letter of the constitution, is no exposition of the views of the Society. There may be some few paragraphs in the official organ, which coincide with the letter of the constitution; but in no instance, we believe, does it assert that the Society has not ulterior objects.

The writer says that we 'confound the direct object of colonization with its possible and probable results, and its plans of action with the motives of those who encourage it.' We deny the assertion, for as he offers no proof, we are justified in calling it an assertion. The Society, through its organs and agents, never says to the public, 'Give us your money and we will remove a hundred blacks this year, a hundred more the next and so on, we will exercise our very inconsiderable influence to put a stop to the slave trade, we will encourage some two or three planters per annum to liberate their slaves, we will try to civilize the (exported) inhabitants of fifty leagues of African shore, and we will rid you of one black for every five hundred who shall be born.' If these words, which, it seems to us might describe the effects of the Society's labors thus far, were used, few and small indeed would be the contributions in aid of their cause. They do say, if we are not deceived, 'Give us your money and we will rid you of a race accursed by God and man, we will gradually destroy the system of slavery, we will soon terminate the slave trade, we will save you from the shame of negro amalgamation, and we will send civilization and Christianity to the remotest corners of benighted Africa.' We appeal to such of our readers as have contributed their mites to the funds of the Society, for the truth of this assumption. We will venture to say that ninety nine out of a hundred of them, have been induced to stretch forth their hands to the contribution box by such promises, direct or implied, and made by some agent or organ of the Colonization Society. We could bring proofs, but need not; for every man who reads the above sentences will find them in his own memory. It is idle to appeal to constitutions—we are to judge of the society's views by their acts, and by the avowals of their agents and of the majority of them, publicly made. If those agents do hold out to the public, hopes which they know can never be realized to any considerable extent, they are guilty of a base fraud, for which their principal is responsible. We think bet-



ter of them, but they are welcome to either horn of the dilemma.

The great object of the Colonization Society, says our friend is 'the education of the free blacks themselves.' We do not believe this; the manner in which the Society operates is a strong argument against the assertion. Is there any thing in the climate of Africa, which renders the mind more capable of receiving instruction than in America? Should we, to improve a race, begin with the adults and neglect the children? Should we remove either to a place where the means of instruction are and must be less and fewer than they are at home?

For every emigrant, transported thus far, upwards of \$54 have been expended, on the Society's own showing. If the object of the society be, indeed, what our friend states, let the society give their funds to the despised and reviled Abolitionists, and they will make them go much farther. For \$54, they will pledge themselves to give, at least four colored persons, as much instruction in the four first great branches of education, per annum, as can be had at our ordinary public schools. They will agree to teach them trades, by which they can gain a livelihood at home. (Query. With the great object of education in view, how many colored persons have the Colonization Society taught to read and write within the last sixteen years? We will acknowledge an obligation to our friend, if he will inform us.)

'No reader,' says our writer, 'who is familiar with the proceedings or publications of the Society, will suspect us of having misstated their design.' He brings three short, imperfect quotations from the Repository, to prove his assumption. The longest of them contains but four lines and a half, and none of them have any bearing upon the point. They are the mere recitative of the society, and merit about as much attention, as the protestation of a shopkeeper's apprentice, that he sells his goods cheaper than any one else. If the writer had consulted us, we could have furnished him with many better common place expositions, in general terms of the benevolent intentions of the Colonization Society, as by them put forth. These and another longer quotation, afterwards made for the same purpose, amount to this and no more.

The society wish to transfer the free blacks to Africa and do them good there.

The motives of their wish are very fine, indeed.

The black man is degraded here and you cannot make him otherwise.

It is otherwise in Africa.

Africa is a very fine place.

These sentences, we believe, comprise the essence of our writer's quotations; which he adduces as proofs that the Colonization Society, aim principally at the education of the free blacks. Proofs, quotha! If any one doubts

the fidelity of our condensation, we entreat him to refer to the article in question, which will satisfy him perfectly. If any thing was wanting to convince us of the hollowness of colonization principles, the fact, that a man of such abilities, as we know our friend possesses, can make out no better argument in their favor, would be sufficient.

We are familiar, very familiar, with the publications of the Colonization Society; as much so, indeed, as their usual dulness will permit, and we do not suspect, but positively assert, that the writer has misrepresented, we do not say intentionally, their design. They say in some places, that the free blacks are degraded and never can rise here, in others that they intend to secure the system of slavery, in others, that they will ultimately remove all the free blacks, and slaves also. Is this the way to educate the objects of their mistaken charity? Does the education of nearly half a million of people, depend on carrying a hundred of them across the Atlantic per annum? We do not take the trouble to prove the positive facts above alluded to here, because we have fully proved them in our former article, and though the writer brings abundance of words to controvert our positions, they do not convey one iota of argument; at least, if we understand them aright.

The writer indulges in self complacency, on reviewing his quotations. These, says he, are the passages *which the Abolitionists construe into vilifying the free blacks.* 'Man stealing' and 'expulsion,' indeed!

We pray him to observe, first, that we have never used any 'foul language' concerning the Colonization Society, and that we wish he would follow our example in this particular; 2nd, that no one but an idiot, would or could construe such passages as he quotes into vilification; 3rd, that he goes out of his way to attack the Abolitionists, who have nothing to do with our article; 4th, that the last of his quotations, (and which is much longer than the three others put together,) is not the language of the American, but of a state Colonization Society; 5th, that his quotations are nothing to the purpose; 6th, that they are not a fair specimen of the tone and manner of the African Repository; and lastly, that he does not meet the question at issue. The abuse of which we complained, is scattered throughout the Repository, and the Annual Reports, as any one, who will punish himself enough to read them, will admit. We gave examples of it in our former article, and as our friend evidently dislikes this subject, we will give no more here.

The writer proceeds to bring more evidence, as he calls it, that we may have 'enough of it, once for all.' There is enough of it, indeed—we are sorry that it is no better. It amounts to this—Dr. Fothergill and Granville Sharpe thought it would be an excellent char-

ity, to send blacks to Africa, to be educated and improved. Mr. Finley, the founder of the Colonization Society, entertained similar views. Therefore, because such was the design of Mr. Finley, seventeen years ago, the Colonization Society have no other now! We have heard of the logic of the schools, and suppose that this is an example of that of the Colonization School.

We said that we were 'willing to believe that the emigrants have, at last, overcome the worst difficulties' of their situation, and this our writer considers an important admission. It seems to us, that it is no admission at all—certainly we did not intend it for one. We did not, and do not believe, that the emigrants have overcome the worst difficulties—we have evidence to the contrary—but we are willing to believe ourself mistaken. We profess some regard for the colonists in Liberia, and shall be willing and glad too, to be convinced that their situation is better than we think it is. We think the authorities our friend brings forward, are not worthy of credit. One of them is a fancy sketch from an English annual, Bishop Meade knew nothing about the matter, and the deputation of colored gentlemen, (we are glad, at last, to see a colonizationist admit, that a colored man may be a gentleman,) who went to Liberia for information, remained there but three weeks. They went, too, under the auspices of the Colonization Society, who, no doubt, shewed every thing in as favorable a light as possible. We know that the Liberia press is not free. The following document, which was pulled down from a public place in Monrovia, by a respectable ship-master of this state, shews this fact conclusively, as well as that the colonists have, or think they have, some grievances which they are not permitted to make public.

## NUMBER 3.

*Liberty is the brilliant gift of Heaven—so says the Herald.*

Truth; which, like the sun, is too brilliant for any but the eagle eyes of free men to look upon, will ever be disliked and shunned by *Tyrants and Slaves*. Junius would never have been driven to use these means to expose the *oppression* under which we groan had there here existed a free press—but as no such thing exists in our colony; we have no other way to expose our *wrongs*—and IF THE DASTARD FINGERS OF THE TOOLS OF POWER persist in destroying these memorials of a *suffering and injured* people they *SHALL* be published in America and here read in a pamphlet form.

But to return to commerce—Let those who are opposed to free trade look around them, and let them calmly ask themselves how our houses were built and improvements made. Were they not reared upon the capitals of our *merchants and their correspondents*? Who is it here, who possesses any thing above the common necessities of life, who does not owe his *all* to *commercial accommodation*? Let us look back but a few years, (nay, we may see the time again) when this settlement was saved from starvation by the house of W——; and annihilate the commerce of the colony to-morrow, and in six months those who now live in *luxury*, will want the *common necessities of life*.

Even now, hard treatment has driven many of our citizens to Cape Mount and other places at the Windward where there is no restriction, and if things are not better managed here, that settlement will annihilate the trade of this, and while they are living in comfort we shall be delving and ditching for our *Task Masters*.

In my next, my fellow citizens, I shall present you with a tariff, on which \$4000 *per annum* may be raised to pay our Vice Agent and other officers. *The Colonization Society, will of course, pay their own.* But the main thing is a *Quarterly statement* from the *Colonial government*, of the expenditure of our money. We are not so blind, or foolish, or confiding, as to trust altogether to others while we are *capable of seeing for ourselves*. This statement is due to us—not to give it is an *insult and injury*, and this statement we must and *WILL* have. If we pretend to the rights of *Freemen*, we must enjoy these rights. If we are *SLAVES* we had better have remained in that situation in the healthy climate of *America*, than to drag out a miserable existence in this inhospitable clime.

JUNIUS.

(To be concluded.)

## LETTER FROM MR. BUXTON.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON:

*My Dear Sir*—I am sorry I have so long delayed replying to your interesting letter. It has certainly not proceeded from any indifference to its contents, and it is indeed with the truest satisfaction that I hail the exertions of such a fellow laborer as yourself. I am much obliged to you, for the valuable parcel of pamphlets, other copies of which I have also received from other quarters. But it is wholly unnecessary to set me, or any of the true Anti-Slavery Party, in this Country, on our guard against the delusive professions of the Colonization Society or its Agent. We are perfectly aware how much it takes its root from the jealousy and dislike entertained towards the free persons of color; and though Liberia may be, and no doubt is, in itself, a useful and interesting undertaking, yet the assumption of its being a means of extinguishing Slavery within any reasonable time, is perfectly ridiculous. We, I trust, are likely to go a much nearer way to work. A crisis seems evidently approaching, and I trust indeed I may say, that our Nation and Government are awakened to the absolute duty and necessity of some *immediate* steps towards emancipation. I may be too sanguine, but I am ready to hope that another year will find our slave population in a very different state. The feeling on this subject, in the country, is become almost universal, and very strong; and it will, in all probability, show itself with an overwhelming force in the first meeting of a Reformed Parliament. Besides which, our Governments are well disposed, and the evidence given before the Committees of both Houses of Parliament last year, has shown them emphatically the fallacy of the objections and oppositions which are urged against us.

I enclose a paper which will prove that you need not be afraid of us with regard to Elliott Cresson; and wishing you every success in



your benevolent exertions to break the fetters of the enslaved,

I am, Dear Sir,

Yours, very truly,

THO. FOWELL BUXTON.

Northrup's Hall, Cromer, Nov. 12, 1832.

#### PATRIOTISM AND BENEVOLENCE OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

One of the most serious charges against the Colonization Society has always been, that its principles and measures necessarily favored the expulsion of the people of color from our country by force. Until recently, however, we had not supposed that the Society, as a body, would distinctly and openly approve of compelling its victims to quit the country against their will. We cannot regret that the veil is now raised, and the features of the monster are exposed in all their deformity.

At the last meeting of the Colonization Society, at a time when the public expressions of disapprobation against it, and the feuds which were known to exist among its members, probably led to caution in the expression of opinions, the following resolve was adopted on the motion of the Hon. Mr. Chambers of Maryland:

*'Resolved, That the Society view, with the highest gratification, the continued efforts of the State of Maryland to accomplish her patriotic and benevolent system in regard to her colored population, and that the last appropriation by that State of two hundred thousand dollars, in aid of African Colonization, is hailed by the friends of the system, as a bright example to other States.'*

This resolution naturally raises the question, what is this '*patriotic and benevolent system*' which affords so '*bright an example to other States*,' and which obtains for the State of Maryland this sisterly embrace from the Society? The uninitiated would probably suppose that it is a scheme of pure and angelic philanthropy. But it is in fact a system to compel every slave hereafter to be emancipated in Maryland to quit the State. We speak with coolness when we say, that we would almost as soon be concerned in highway robbery, piracy, or assassination, as aid the legislature of Maryland in effecting its atrocious objects. The disregard of human rights would not be greater in the one case than the other. The injury done by the attempts of a few lawless individuals is trifling, compared with that which is likely to fall upon thousands of innocent men who are to be crushed by this barbarous legislation.

The law of Maryland, to which the resolution we have quoted refers, was passed on March 14th, 1832. This law was intended to aid in colonizing the people of color in that State. By this act a board of managers for colonizing the blacks, is erected. The 2d. section of this law, whenever a slave is emancipated by deed or will, provides that it shall be the duty of this board to notify the American Colonization Society, or the Maryland State Colonization Society thereof, and to propose to such society that they shall engage, at the expense of such society, to remove the said slave or slaves so manumitted to Liberia; and if the said society shall so engage, then it shall be the duty of the said board of managers to have the said slave or slaves delivered to the agent of such society, at such place as the said society shall appoint, for receiving such slave or slaves for the purpose of such removal, at such time as the said society shall appoint; and in case the said society shall refuse to receive and remove the person or persons so manumitted and offered, or *in case the said person or persons shall refuse to be so removed*, then it shall be the duty of the said board of managers to remove the said person or persons to such other place or places beyond the limits of this State, as the said Board shall approve of, and the said person or persons shall be willing to go to, and to provide for their reception and support at such place or places as the said board may think necessary, until they shall be able to provide for themselves out of any money that may be earned by their hire, or may be otherwise provided for that purpose, and in case the said person or persons shall refuse to be removed to any place beyond the limits of this State, and shall persist in remaining therein, then it shall be the duty of said board to inform the sheriff of the county wherein such person or persons may be, of such refusal, and it shall thereupon be the duty of the said sheriff forthwith to arrest or cause to be arrested the said person or persons so refusing to emigrate from this State, and transport the said person or persons beyond the limits of this State; and all slaves shall be capable of receiving manumission, for the purpose of removal as aforesaid, with their consent, of whatever age, any law to the contrary notwithstanding.'

This is a part of the *patriotic and benevolent* system which Maryland adopts and the Colonization Society approves. No slave can

be emancipated in Maryland, without being driven from the State.

The 4th section of the same statute enacts, 'That in case any slave or slaves so manumitted, cannot be removed without separating families, and the said slave or slaves unwilling on that account to be removed, shall desire to renounce the freedom so intended by the said deed or will to be given, then it shall and may be competent to such slave or slaves so to renounce in open court the benefit of said deed or will, and to continue a slave.'

The *patriotism and benevolence* of this section surpasses, if possible, the preceding, it gives the slave the option, either of being colonized or remaining a slave. Truly 'the tender mercies' of slaveholders 'are cruel.'

One farther provision in the act may be considered as showing some relenting touch. We therefore quote it, as we would not wish to misrepresent it. The 5th section provides 'that it shall and may be competent for the Orphan's Court of this State, and for Baltimore City Court, to grant annually a permit to any slave or slaves so manumitted as aforesaid to remain as free in the said county, in cases where the said courts may be satisfied by respectable testimony that such slave or slaves so manumitted deserve such permission on account of their extraordinary good conduct and character.'

Believing as we do that every slave in Maryland has an equal right to reside there and be a freeman, as any white person in the State, we cannot but regard this refusal to permit emancipation except on condition of expulsion as cruel and tyrannical. We are not surprised that a slave State should forget that colored men have any rights, but we are surprised that Christians who are not concerned in slaveholding should approve of so nefarious a scheme.

We consider every member of the Colonization Society as an abettor of the compulsory colonization proposed by Maryland. We see no loop hole or cranny by which any one can escape from this conclusion. Compulsory colonization has been approved of by an express vote of the Society, and every man who remains a member of the Society must be considered as assenting to it.

It may, however, be urged by some conscientious colonizationists that they do not approve of the resolution passed by the So-

ciety, and therefore cannot be personally responsible for it.

It is true that societies often pass votes which are not approved of by all their members, and that those dissenting from the votes are not considered as personally to blame for them, however unwise they may appear. But we think there is a great difference between votes that are objectionable merely because they are impolitic and such as are positively immoral. One may be a member of a society which adopts a very injudicious measure for effecting a particular object, yet if the measure be not immoral, he is not to blame for continuing a member if he thinks the operations of the society are on the whole useful.

But, on the other hand, where a society adopts a resolution that is immoral, however useful any member may consider the association to be on the whole, it seems to us that he cannot conscientiously remain a member, for if he does, he must be morally responsible for the acts of the body.

Our argument will perhaps be better understood by examples.

Suppose that a temperance society should pass a vote to have lectures on temperance delivered once every week by members of the society; one who thought such a measure unnecessary and inexpedient and had voted against it on that ground, might still with propriety continue a member, as he would not thereby be making any sacrifice of moral principle. But suppose the society should pass a vote that the lecture on every fourth week should be against Christianity, against the institution of marriage, or in favor of licensing lotteries, could a person who was opposed to this vote on moral grounds, conscientiously continue a member? If he did, might he not be justly called an enemy of Christianity, and a friend to prostitution and lotteries?

We shall be much obliged to any colonizationist who will answer us three questions by a simple negative or affirmative.

1. Can a person conscientiously remain a member of a voluntary association which passes a vote expressing approbation of immoral conduct or principles?

2. Is the statute of Maryland which we have quoted consistent with the morality taught in the gospel?

3. Can any one who regards that statute as immoral, conscientiously remain a member of the Colonization Society, after the vote which it passed in approbation of the statute?



PAXTON'S LETTERS ON SLAVERY.

*Letters on Slavery addressed to the Cumberland Congregation, Virginia, by J. D. PAXTON, their former Pastor. Lexington, Ky.: published by Abraham T. Skillman, 1833, 12 mo. pp. 207.*

The author of this little volume was, as he informs his readers, formerly pastor of the Cumberland Congregation, in Virginia. By marriage two families of slaves came into his possession. He was conscientiously opposed to slavery, and his wife's opinions on the subject coincided with his own. 'We both,' to adopt his own language, 'felt it our duty to free said slaves, as soon as it could be done to their apparent advantage. We watched the progress of the colony at Liberia for several years; and in the meantime used means to prepare our slaves for freedom. As soon as we were satisfied that they had better prospects there of doing well for themselves, than they could have with us, we encouraged them to go; gave them such an outfit as our means afforded, and sent them to the colony.'

Mr. Paxton's conduct in emancipating his slaves appears to have excited some animadversion among his people. A few months after he wrote an essay on Slavery, three numbers of which he published in the *Family Visitor*, a religious paper. This essay, though written with great mildness and forbearance, gave so much offence that he felt it advisable to resign the charge of his congregation. He shortly after addressed to his congregation, the letters that compose this volume, in which he vindicates himself and discusses the general subject of slavery.

These letters appear to have been written several years ago, but the author did not think it expedient to publish them at the time they were written.

We regard these letters as particularly valuable. They are the testimony of one who has been a slaveholder, against a system which he had himself witnessed. They are a testimony against slavery, from one whose apparent worldly interest must have led him to support the institution. Besides this, they are obviously the work of a highly cultivated, intelligent, and benevolent mind; and though they present the truth plainly and forcibly, they do it with great kindness and charity for the feelings and prejudices of opponents.

The subject of the work may be judged of from the following table of Contents.

Introductory—Narrative of Facts, &c.—Ministerial Prudence in Regard to Slavery—Reasons for discussing the Subject—Origin and Nature of Slavery in the United States—Inconsistent with our free Institutions, and the Natural Rights of Man—Its Inconsistency with the Moral Teaching of Scripture—The Servitude tolerated by the Jewish Law not Slavery for Life—Examination of Leviticus xxv. 44—46.—The Practice of the Patriarchs, &c.—Examples of God's Judgments for Slavery—The bearing of these things in the Old Testament on the Teaching of the New respecting Slavery—Various Evils of Slavery—Some Arguments or Excuses considered—What must we do with our Slaves—Several Plans—Motives to immediate Effort from the Doctrine of Divine Recompenses.

Appendix—The Article at which Offence was taken—Tables of the Five Official Censuses of the United States—Some Facts from Berard 'On the Effects of Civilization on Longevity.'

The moral and scriptural arguments against slavery are presented with great ability. We are acquainted with no work in which the teachings of the Old and New Testaments on the subject, are examined in so thorough and satisfactory a manner. Slaveholders, it is well known, have often sought to sanction their iniquity by an appeal to the Bible. Our author proves, we think in an unanswerable manner, that though a modified and temporary slavery was tolerated among the Jews, yet that the old testament shows clearly that holding slaves was always considered sinful in the eye of heaven, and that it often specifies this as one of the iniquities which drew down divine punishment upon various nations. That slavery is inconsistent with the great principles of Christianity few will dispute. The reason why slaveholding was not more specifically denounced as criminal, in the new testament, our author conceives to be, that it was unnecessary, as the old testament had pointed out its sinfulness in many instances; that the moral law of the Jewish dispensation was not repealed but enforced by the gospel.

Though we do not coincide with our author in all his views, particularly in regard to the best mode of putting an end to slavery, yet we think the work is calculated to do great good in our country, and heartily recommend it to our readers.

As specimens of the tone and spirit of Mr. Paxton's work, we offer the following extracts. They deserve serious attention in all parts of our country.

'It is the undoubted right of those who believe slavery wrong, and the laws and policy of the State inexpedient and unwise, to use their influence to procure the requisite change. Let them exert their influence to enlighten and give a proper direction to the public mind. They owe it to themselves, to the public, to

human nature, as well as to the best interests of the slave. We know that opinions govern the world. There are many errors of a practical kind which long govern the multitude, after they have been exploded by the great mass of intelligent men. One reason of this is, those intelligent men allow themselves to practise with the multitude, their correct opinions to the contrary notwithstanding. Their correct opinions, therefore, go for nothing, because contradicted by their practice. This is most lamentably the case with respect to slavery. Few intelligent men among us justify it; and yet the great body of them practise it. How are the unthinking multitude to find out that it is wrong, while not only the intelligent, but the moral and religious continue the practice?

We insist, therefore, that we all owe to the cause of freedom, not only a correct opinion, but a consistent practice.

Were professors of religion and friends of freedom—all who wish to remove the evil of slavery, to come out and act consistently and steadily, the good effects of it would soon be seen and felt. Had the church, at the commencement of African slavery in this country, taken the proper course, it would in all probability have put a stop to it. Had the friends of religion and morals united with the friends of emancipation, at the close of the revolutionary war, and abandoned slavery, the system would before now have gone down. And were the friends of religion and morals and personal freedom now to abandon slavery, and keep up before the public eye its moral and political evils, the system could not stand long before them. A practical standard of morals and religion would be held up, which would condemn slavery. Slavery would soon come to be viewed as we now view polygamy, concubinage, the slave trade, and massacre of prisoners. Most persons have some sense of religion, and wish to get to heaven. Slavery would soon come to be viewed as incompatible with getting there; and one modification after another would take place, until it passed away.

This ought to be accompanied with a steady and persevering effort to so change the laws of the State as to put an end to the whole system. Until a considerable change is made in the laws, great difficulties will lie in the way of accomplishing many things that at once ought to be done. The shameful traffic in them ought at once to be stopped; their marriages and family relations ought to be protected; and all obstructions to educating them ought to be removed. Many lament these evils, and blame the State for permitting them, who appear to forget that a part of the law-making power is in their hands. They have never used their influence with their representatives so to change the laws as to remove the evils. They of course stand chargeable with a part

of the guilt. Our public men will do what they know the people wish to have done. If they refuse, the people can fill their place with others who will carry into effect their will.'—pp. 175, 176.

'It is a hateful feature of the present system of slavery, that it gives no protection to family connections—to the marriage relation, or to female purity. The slave is held as property, and may be sold, or given away, or disposed of by will; and, life and limb excepted, be treated as other property.

Occasionally, the husband and wife belong to the same person, and live together; much more frequently, however, they belong to different owners, and see each other more or less frequently, according to their distance apart, and the time allowed them for that purpose. Their marriages are not recognized or protected by law. The reason no doubt is, that this might interfere with the right of property in the master. If the law protected the marriages, it might at times prevent sales and transfers of slave property.

Some slaves have, indeed, a marriage ceremony performed. It is, however, usually done by one of their own color, and of course is not a legal transaction. And if done by a person legally authorized to perform marriages, still it would have no authority, because the law does not recognize marriage among slaves, so as to clothe it with the rights and immunities which it wears among citizens. The owner of either party might, the next day or hour, break up the connection in any way he pleased. In fact, their connections have no protection, and are so often broken up by sales and transfers and removals, that they are by the slaves often called 'taking up together.' The sense of marriage fidelity must be greatly weakened, if not wholly destroyed, by such a state of things. The effect is most disastrous.

But there is another circumstance which deserves our notice. What effect is likely to be produced on the morals of the whites, from having about them, and under their absolute authority, female slaves who are deprived of the strongest motives to purity, and exposed to peculiar temptations to opposite conduct! The condition of female slaves is such, that promises and threatenings and management can hardly fail to conquer them. They are entirely dependent on their master. They have no way to make a shilling, to procure any article they need. Like all poor people they are fond of finery, and wish to imitate those who are above them. What, now, are not presents and kind treatment, or the reverse, if they are not complying, likely to effect on such persons? And the fact that their children, should they have any through such intercourse, may expect better treatment from so near relations, may have its influence. That the vice prevails to a most shameful ex-



tent is proved from the rapid increase of mulattoes. Oh, how many have fallen before this temptation: so many, that it has almost ceased to be a shame to fall! Oh, how many parents may trace the impiety and licentiousness and shame of their prodigal sons, to the temptations found in the female slaves of their own households. Irregular habits are thus formed, which often last through life. And many a lovely and excellent woman, confiding in vows of affection and fidelity, trusting to her power over her devoted lover, has, after uniting her fate with his, and giving him all that a woman has to give, found when too late how incorrigible are those habits of roving desire, formed in youth, and kept alive by the temptations and facilities of the slave system.

Now when we read the repeated declarations that 'fornicators and adulterers shall not inherit the kingdom of God;' and call to mind the teaching of our Lord, that all intercourse between the sexes, except what takes place between one man and one woman in marriage faith, amounts to those crimes; how can we, as believers in Christianity, uphold a system which presents this temptation both to the bond and free, and yet escape a participation in the guilt?'—pp. 128, 129.

#### SLAVERY IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

The following extracts are from a work called 'Three Years in North America, by James Stuart, Esq.' It is spoken of as a work of great ability and candor. It is but seldom that we have anything published in this country in which the horrors and abominations of slavery are spoken of in the terms which they ought to be. We trust that Mr. Stuart's work will be soon republished in this country. We have not seen the work itself, but copy from the Anti-Slavery Record.

'My stopping place was on a rice plantation, so unfavorably situated during the unhealthy season of the year that the planter and his family always leave it. The slaves were numerous, and were, I had reason to believe from what I afterwards heard, as well treated as they generally are in this country; but it did not seem to me that their want of education, and the want of ordinary comforts, place them in a situation much removed from the brutes. They had little clothing, all of one drab color, and not one of them had bed-clothes. I had full leisure to talk with them, but of course I was bound to do so with prudence. All of them, however, with whom I had an opportunity of conversing, declared themselves unhappy and miserable in their situation. A certain task is allotted to each of them, and, if this is not done, they are subjected to one of three punishments, whipping, wearing irons, or putting in the stocks. I was told here, on authority which seemed to be quite unquestionable (that of a wealthy planter who lived in this neighborhood,) that a planter, whose estate is at no great distance from the high road which I was travelling, was in the habit of punishing his slaves, when he thought that they required severe discipline, by putting them in coffins, which were partly nailed down, and that this punishment had again and again resulted in the death

of the slaves. The gentleman who communicated this information to me spoke of it with horror; but upon my asking him why such conduct was not punished, since it was known in the neighborhood, by virtue of the law, which declared the killing of a slave to be murder, he replied that his neighbor took very good care of himself; the punishment was inflicted only in the presence of slaves, whose evidence was inadmissible. He added, however, that the coffins had been seen, and that the slaves, who it was said had lost their lives, had disappeared, and that no doubt was entertained that their deaths had been occasioned by their being shut up in coffins. The same person who has recourse to this savage punishment works his slaves on Sundays, though contrary to law, taking care that no white man sees them.'—Vol. ii. pp. 112, 119.

'I have seen enough to be satisfied that, generally speaking, the slaves are brought up in such ignorance, as well as in a way so repugnant to moral feeling, in the earlier part of their life, that it is surprising to see so many marks of civilization among them. Marriage among them is generally allowed; but, where a young man has a fine family, the planter very often, with a view to the increase of his stock, forces him to have many wives: and in the same way married females are often obliged to receive more husbands than one, as the planter may order. In fact, the slaves are as much obliged to obey the commands of their masters in respect to sexual intercourse as any thing else, the effects of which upon their morals may be easily conceived. Such a system is no doubt discouraged by many of the masters whose dispositions are humane; but that this evil does exist to a great extent is unquestionably true.'—Vol. ii. p. 120.

The following is Mr. Stuart's account of a conversation which he heard between 'a very wealthy and well known planter' of South Carolina, 'not by any means a young man,' and a physician.

'The planter and the doctor seemed to be on intimate terms, which rendered their conversation tolerably unreserved. The doctor asked the planter what could have induced him to stay at such and such a plantation during the unhealthy season. I shall never forget the *sang froid* with which the question was answered by his friend. He said he found that half a dozen of the girls could not longer be trusted without a husband, for one of them had been already seized by the blacksmith at his gate, and that he thought it was not only for his interest, but that of the plantation generally, that he should be the first husband. This answer, of course, gave rise to a great deal of merriment among the friends; and the doctor, who gave us accounts of his management of his own slaves of a similar kind, of course admitted the validity of the reason. In the course of the conversation which followed, it turned out that this planter was frequently waited upon at table by his own children, and had actually sent some of them to the public market to be sold as slaves!'—Vol. ii. p. 127.

Passing over several passages descriptive of the grievous oppression of the free people of color, we find Mr. Stuart again adverting to the treatment of the slaves in the following terms:—

'I was placed in a situation at Charleston, which gave me too frequent opportunities to witness the effects of slavery in its most aggravated state. Mrs. Street (the mistress of the hotel) treated all the servants in the house in the most barbarous manner; and this although she knew that Stuart, the hotel-keeper here, had lately nearly lost his life by maltreating a slave. He beat his cook, who was a stout fellow, until

he could no longer support it. He rose upon his master, and in his turn gave him such a beating that it had nearly cost him his life; the cook immediately left the house, ran off, and was never afterwards heard of,—it was supposed that he had drowned himself. Not a day, however, passed without my hearing of Mrs. Street whipping and ill using her unfortunate slaves. On one occasion, when one of the female slaves had disobliged her, she beat her until her own strength was exhausted, and then insisted on the bar-keeper, Mr. Ferguson, (a Scotchman,) proceeding to inflict the remainder of the punishment. Mrs. Street in the mean time took her place in the bar-room. She instructed him to lay on the whip severely in an adjoining room. His nature was repugnant to the execution of the duty which was imposed on him. He gave a wink to the girl, who understood it and bellowed lustily, while he made the whip crack on the walls of the room. Mrs. Street expressed herself to be quite satisfied with the way in which Ferguson had executed her instructions; but, unfortunately for him, his lenity to the girl became known in the house, and the subject of merriment, and was one of the reasons for his dismissal before I left the house;—but I did not know of the most atrocious of all the proceedings of this cruel woman until the very day that I quitted the house. I had put up my clothes in my portmanteau, when I was about to set out; but, finding it was rather too full, I had difficulty in getting it closed to allow me to lock it; I therefore told one of the boys to send me one of the stoutest of the men to assist me. A great robust fellow soon afterwards appeared, whom I found to be the cook, with tears in his eyes;—I asked him what was the matter? He told me that, just at the time when the boy called for him, he had got so sharp a blow on the cheek-bone from this devil in petticoats, as had unmanned him for the moment. Upon my expressing commiseration for him, he said he viewed this as nothing, but that he was leading a life of terrible suffering;—that about two years had elapsed since he and his wife, with his two children, had been exposed in the public market at Charleston for sale,—that he had been purchased by Mr. Street,—that his wife and children had been purchased by a different person, and that, though he was living in the same town with them, he never was allowed to see them;—he would be beaten within an ace of his life if he ventured to go to the corner of the street. Wherever the least symptom of rebellion or insubordination appears at Charleston on the part of a slave, the master sends the slave to the goal, where he is whipped or beaten as the master desires. The Duke of Saxe Weimar, in his travels, mentions that he visited this goal in December 1825; that the ‘black overseers go about every where armed with cow hides; that in the basement story there is an apparatus upon which the Negroes, by order of the police, or at the request of the masters, are flogged; that the machine consists of a sort of crane, on which a cord with two nooses runs over pulleys; the nooses are made fast to the hands of the slave and drawn up, while the feet are bound tight to a plank; that the body is stretched out as much as possible,—and thus the miserable creature receives the exact number of lashes as counted off.—The public sale of slaves in the market place at Charleston, occurs frequently. I was present at two sales where, especially at one of them, the miserable creatures were in tears on account of being separated from their relations and friends. At one of them, a young woman of sixteen or seventeen was separated from her father and mother, and all her relations, and every one she had formerly known. This not unfrequently happens, although I was told and believe that there is a general wish to keep relations together where it can be done.

‘The following extract of a letter from a gentleman at Charleston, to a friend of his at New-York, published in the New-York newspapers while I was there, contains even a more shocking account of the public sale of slaves here:—’ Curiosity sometimes leads me

to the auction sales of the Negroes. A few days since I attended one which exhibited the beauties of slavery in all their sickening deformity. The bodies of these wretched beings were placed upright on a table—their physical proportions examined—their defects and beauties noted. ‘A prime lot, here they go!’ There I saw the father looking with sullen contempt on the crowd, and expressing an indignation in his countenance that he dare not speak; and the mother, pressing her infants closer to her bosom with an involuntary grasp, and exclaiming in wild and simple earnestness, while the tears chased down her cheeks in quick succession—‘I can’t leff my children! I won’t leff my children!’ But on the hammer went, reckless alike whether it united or sundered for ever. On another stand I saw a man apparently as white as myself exposed for sale. I turned away from the humiliating spectacle.

‘At another time I saw the concluding scene of this infernal drama. It was on the wharf. A slave ship for New-Orleans was lying in the stream, and the poor negroes handcuffed, and pinioned, were hurried off in boats, eight at a time. Here I witnessed the last farewell—the heart-rending separation of every earthly tie. The mute and agonizing embrace of the husband and wife, and the convulsive grasp of the mother and child, who were alike torn asunder—for ever! It was a living death—they never see or hear of each other more. Tears flowed fast, and mine with the rest.’

‘Charleston has long been celebrated for the severity of its laws against the blacks, and the mildness of its punishments towards the whites for maltreating them. Until the late law, there were about seventy-one crimes for which slaves were capitally punished, and for which the highest punishment for whites was imprisonment in the penitentiary.

‘A dreadful case of murder occurred at Charleston in 1806. A planter, called John Slater, made an unoffending, unresisting slave, be bound hand and foot, and compelled his companion to chop off his head with an axe, and to cast his body, convulsing with the agonies of death, into the water. Judge Wild, who tried him, on awarding a sentence of imprisonment against this wretch, expressed his regret that the punishment provided for the offence was insufficient to make the law respected—that the delinquent too well knew that the arm which he had stretched out for the destruction of his slave was that to which he alone could look for protection, disarmed as he was of the right of self defence. But the most horrible butchery of slaves which has ever taken place in America was the execution of thirty-five of them on the lines near Charleston, in the month of July, 1822, on account of an alleged conspiracy against their masters. The whole proceedings are monstrous. Sixty-seven persons were convicted before a court, consisting of a justice of the peace, and freeholders, without a jury. The evidence of slaves not upon oath was admitted against them, and after all, the proof was extremely scanty. Perrault, a slave, who had himself been brought from Africa, was the chief witness. He had been torn from his father, who was very wealthy, and a considerable trader in tobacco and salt on the coast of Africa. He was taken prisoner, and was sold, and his purchaser would not give him up, although three slaves were offered in his stead. The judge’s address, on pronouncing sentence of death on this occasion, on persons sold to slavery and servitude, and who, if they were guilty, were only endeavoring to get rid of it in the only way in their power, seems monstrous. He told them that the servant who was false to his master would be false to his God—that the precept of St. Paul was “to obey their masters in all things,” and of St. Peter, “to be subject to their masters with all fear,”—and that, had they listened to such doctrines, they would not have been arrested by an ignominious death.’—Vol. ii. pp. 141—147.

*Note.* Since the foregoing article was prepared, we have ascertained that Mr. Stuart’s work has been republished in this country.



#### NEW ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES.

It is with great satisfaction that we record the formation of three new Anti-Slavery Societies. They afford indisputable evidence of the progress of correct principles.

An Anti-Slavery Society has been formed in Portland, Me. with the following officers.

Hon. Prentiss Mellen, *President*; Samuel Fessenden, Rev. Gershom F. Cox, *Vice Presidents*; P. H. Greenleaf, Esq., *Corresponding Secretary*; Daniel C. Colesworthy, *Recording Secretary*; John Winslow, *Treasurer*; Bezaleel Cushman, Jonathan Dow, James B. Cahoon, Henry H. Boody, Seba Smith, Nathan Winslow, Oliver B. Dorrance, *Counsellors*.

On April 10th, an Anti-Slavery Society was formed at Tallmadge in Ohio, called the *Tallmadge Anti-Slavery Society*. Its principles are the same as those of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.

The citizens of Fayette, Ross, and Highland Counties, Ohio, have recently formed a Society called the *Abolition Society of Paint Valley*. Its officers are as follow.

Col. Thos. Rogers, *President*; Hon. Hugh Smart, *Vice-President*; Joseph T. Irwin, *Recording Secretary*; Rev. Jas. H. Dickey, *Corresponding Secretary*; Mr Joseph Lawhead, *Treasurer*; Messrs Hugh Ghormly and Jas. McConnell, members of the executive committee for Fayette county, Messrs Robert Braiden and Geo. Brown for Ross county, and Messrs Samuel Smith and Samuel McConnell for Highland county.

#### NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

We notice with great satisfaction some suggestions in the *Friend*, in reference to a National Anti-Slavery Society. The progress of opinion in regard to slavery has been so great during the last few years, that an institution of this kind seems to be required, in order to give greater effect to individual efforts. A great anxiety to form such a Society has been often expressed by members of the N. England Anti-Slavery Society. If our friends at Philadelphia will call a public meeting in that place at any time during the present season, for the purpose of organizing a National Society, we promise them the attendance of some delegates from this quarter. We heartily assent to the remarks of 'THE FRIEND,' which follow:—

'We proposed a question in our last number, whether a national Anti-Slavery Society could not be formed in Philadelphia, for the purpose of calling the attention of our readers to the subject. There are many considerations that seem to indicate Philadelphia as the proper location for such a society. Its central position between the east and west—the prevailing tone of the public mind is fitted to impart strength and permanence to such a

society, to which may be added the well known facts that *here* the first abolition law ever passed in this country originated, and the first society for the express purpose of abolishing slavery was formed.

But it may be asked, wherein would the proposed society differ in its principles from the Pennsylvania Abolition Society? Are not the objects contemplated by the former embraced by the latter? In relation to the great question of slavery, they would be one in principle. The Pennsylvania society has been, and still is very useful in the cause of anti-slavery. Their funds and resources are principally expended in the support of schools for the education of colored children. I hope the society will long continue to direct its attention to this important object. But it is local in its character. We want a *national* Anti-Slavery Society, which would embrace a larger sphere, and enroll among its members, many men of talents and influence, who do not belong to the Pennsylvania Society, and who, perhaps, might not incline to become members. I hope the time is not distant, when such a society will be organized in this city.'

#### ADVANTAGES OF PAID LABOR.

Reason and experience both teach that paid labor is cheaper than compulsory. This truth is strikingly illustrated in the facts stated in the following letter addressed to the editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, which appeared in a recent number of that work.

TO THE EDITOR.

DEAR SIR:—

Some time since, I sent you an account of a mechanic who, by paying each of the slaves whom he had hired, one dollar per week, obtained more work from five, than he had been able to procure before from eleven of them. To-day a circumstance has come to my knowledge which ought to speak volumes to those who keep slaves.

A person who has been in the habit of trading to York River, for oysters, was in the practice of hiring black men from their masters. These poor dispirited creatures worked so slow, that it generally took about three weeks to load his vessel. At last he hit upon the experiment of giving them a reward of fifty cents a day, (for themselves,) for each good day's work. The consequence is, that he now gets his vessel loaded in about five days, at a much less expense. This shews that *VOLUNTARY labor is much SUPERIOR* to that which is *COMPULSORY*.

Let those who employ slaves, remember that it would be better to hire even *their own* slaves, or pay those whom they hire from others, than undertake to compel them to work.

A SUBSCRIBER.

## MR GARRISON.

This gentleman sailed from New-York for England on the first of May. He goes accompanied by the good wishes and prayers of all the friends of abolition. The following lines were written by him on board the vessel after sailing.

## SONNET.

Unto the winds and waves I now commit  
My body, subject to the will of Heaven;  
Its resting place may be the watery pit—  
'Tis His alone to take who life has given.  
But, O ye elements! the deathless soul,  
Impalpable, outsoaring time and space,  
Submits not to your mightiest control,  
Nor nearly dwells in any earthly place.  
Ocean may bleach, earth crumble, worms devour,  
Beyond identity, its wondrous frame;  
Decay wilts not the spiritual flower,  
Nor age suppresses the ethereal flame.—  
Thus thy dread sting, O DEATH! I dare to brave—  
Thus do I take from thee the victory, O GRAVE!  
*On board the ship Hibernia.* }  
May 2, 1833. }

## TO THE HIBERNIA.

O, speed thee! speed thee! gallant bark,  
Across the bounding wave;  
Thou bearest to old Britain's shores,  
The Champion of the slave.

Propitious breezes waft thee on,  
Safe o'er Atlantic's sea;  
For many a heart with fervor sends  
A benison to thee.

And he who fears not to commit  
His body to thy care,  
Fears not to brave the winds and waves,  
Knowing that God is there.

He goes to raise the standard high,  
And freedom's flag unfurl,  
And to proclaim the rallying cry  
Of freedom to the world.

Then swift and steady be thy flight,  
Across the briny wave;  
And safely bear, Oh noble bark,  
The Champion of the slave.

ADA.

PHILADELPHIA, May, 1833.

## EPITAPH ON JOHN JACK.

The following epitaph on a slave buried at Concord, in Massachusetts, is, as we are informed in Mr Willard's Address to the Worcester Bar, ascribed to Daniel Bliss, Esq. an ante-revolutionary lawyer. It may be found in Alden's Collection of Epitaphs.

God wills us free;  
Man wills us slaves.  
I will, as God wills;  
God's will be done.  
Here lies the body of JOHN JACK,  
A native of Africa,  
Who died March 1773,  
Aged about LX years.  
Though born in a land of slavery,  
He was born free:  
Though he lived in a land of liberty,  
He lived a slave;  
Till by his honest, though stolen labors,  
He acquired the source of slavery,  
Which gave him his freedom,  
Though not long before death,  
The grand tyrant,

Gave him his final emancipation,  
And set him on a footing with kings.  
Though a slave to vice,  
He practised those virtues,  
Without which, kings are but slaves.

The Treasurer of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society acknowledges the receipt of the following donations in March, April and May, viz.

## FOR THE MISSION.

Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society of Reading	10 00
Gentlemen's do. do.	12 00
John T. Hilton, being amount contributed at a meeting of colored persons in Boston, on 19th March,	25 00
A Friend, by S. E. Sewall, Esq.	10 00
Nathan Winslow, Esq. Portland, Me.	20 00
W. R. Jones, Baltimore, Md.	5 00
Wm. H. Morgan do.	5 00
E. F. B. Mundrucu	5 00
Colored Male citizens of Albany, N. Y. by Mr W. P. Griffin	6 00
Michael H. Simpson	20 00
S. E. Sewall,	10 00
Moses Kimball	5 00
A Friend	20 00
John N. Barbour	5 00
Daniel Gregg	5 00
John Stimson	3 00
Ellis Gray Loring	5 00
John E. Fuller	3 00
Frederick Hughes	5 00
Drury Fairbanks	5 00
D. L. Child	3 00
E. M. P. Wells	5 00
Young Ladies (Colored) Albany, N. Y.	8 00
Rev. Simeon S. Jocelyn, New-Haven, Ct.	5 00
S. Philbrick	3 00
Miss Deane	3 00

Ladies of Rev. D. T. Kimball's Society in Ipswich, to constitute him a life member	15 00
A Friend by S. E. Sewall for the Manual Labor School	10 00
Annual subscription of \$2.00 each, from Herman Holmes, Robert Roberts, Joseph Pierce, James G. Barbadoes, Samuel H. Colton, J. Nichols, J. C. Smith, David H. Ela, Rev. Phineas Crandall, Edward Johnson, Nathaniel Budd, Wm. Irvier, Lewis Laws and David Worthing	28 00
A Friend, by Rev. Henry Jones	1 00
Ebenezer Dole, Hallowell, Me.	50 00
A Friend	1 00
S. G. Shipley	2 00
	\$324 00
	97.00

*For the Mission—Received by Mr. Garrison.*

S. G. Shipley	2 00
A Friend	1 00
Dr Geo. Harris, Moor Town, Pa.	5 00
C. Washington, Trenton, N. J.	3 00
Mrs. R. Henson, do. do.	2 00
A colored Friend in Philadelphia	0 50
From the colored friends in Philadelphia, through the hands of Mr Joseph Cassey	100 00
Colored friends in Brooklyn, N. Y.	8 00
Colored friends in New-York city	124 00
do. Providence, R. I.	30 00
Colored 'Mutual Relief Society' of do.	15 00
Colored 'Female Literary Society' of do.	6 00
Colored 'Female Tract Society' of do.	4 00

\$300 50

13.00

87.50  
227.00  
314.50